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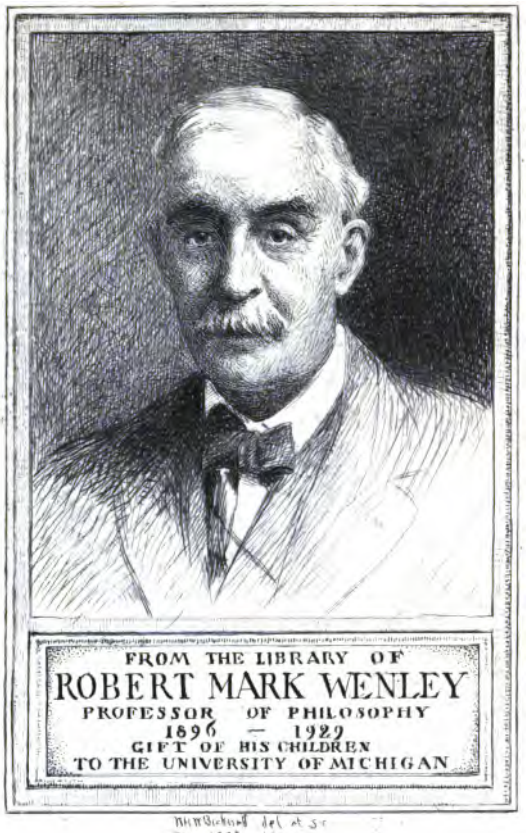

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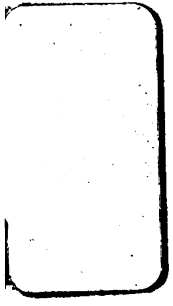

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Wesley Coll.
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# PAPERS ON SHAKSPERE.

## ON THE SUCCESSION OF SHAKSPERE'S EARLIEST PLAYS.

In some remarks made before the New Shakspere Society, November 12, 1875 (the Paper announced for the evening being 'On the Three Hamlets,' by Richard Sympson, Esq. B.A.), I introduced a few extracts showing the intimate connection between 'Pericles' and the quarto, 1603; and also extracts from the 'Arcadia,' showing the intimate connection between 'Pericles' and 'Pyrocles.' As the article then read will be published, I presume in the next volume of the Transactions of the Society, I shall here merely give a few extracts which, in my opinion, justify the belief in the authenticity and early production of 'Pericles;' nor is it probable Shakspere, on recomposing the three last acts, would have left the other two in their pristine state, if he had not had some unexplained interest therein; and which interest I hold to be their intimate connection with 'Hamlet.'

*Ant.* "He hath found the meaning, for the which we mean
To have his head."
"And therefore instantly this prince must die."
"Thaliard, adieu! till Pericles be dead,
My heart can lend no succour to my head."—*Pericles.*

*King.* "He presently without demanding why,
That Hamlet lose his head, for he must die,
There's more in him than shallow eyes can see;
He once being dead, why then our state is free."
*Hamlet*, 1603.

Again, the second scene of 'Pericles' commences with a soliloquy:

*Per.* "Let none disturb us: Why this charge of thoughts?
The sad companion, dull-eyed melancholy,
By me so us'd a guest—"

which may be regarded as a forerunner of "*To be or not to be;*'

whilst Helicanus is undoubtedly the same character as Polonius, with the same prolixity and love of aphorisms:

> "Peace, peace, and give experience tongue.
> They do abuse the King that flatter him:
> For flattery is the bellows blows up sin."—Act i. sc. 2.

Whilst,

> "Your rule direct to any; if to me,
> Day serves not light more faithful than I'll be,"—act i. sc. 2,

reminds us of:

> "I hold my duty as I hold my life,
> Both to my God, and to my sovereign king."—*Ed.* 1603.

But there are two sentences which prove the first two acts were also retouched or amended in 1608:

*Dio.* "Oh, 'tis too true."—*Pericles*, act i. sc. 4.
*King.* [Aside.] "Oh, tis too true."—*Hamlet*, act iii. sc. 1.
*Sim.* "Soft, here he comes."—*Pericles*, act ii. sc. 5.
*Ham.* "Soft you now!
The fair Ophelia." *Hamlet*, 1604.

But according to Mr. Fleay, Wilkins wrote the first two acts of 'Pericles,' and in the same article he further adds "a test which is most important for Shakspere—the extra syllable test, which depends on the presence of a superfluous syllable in the middle of a line *before a pause;* as, "My wife is *nothing;* nor nothing have these nothings" ('The Winter's Tale,' act i. sc. 2). Consequently the following lines in 'Pericles' must have been written by Shakspere:

> "To stop the air would hurt *them*. The blind mole casts
> Copp'd hills towards heaven, to tell, the earth is wrong'd
> By man's *oppression;* and the poor worm doth die for 't."
> "Because we bid *it*. Say, is it done? *Thal.* My lord,
> 'Tis done."
> "As thou
> Wilt live, fly *after:* and, as an arrow shot."
> "Took some displeasure at *him;* at least he judg'd so."
> "But I'll present *me*. Peace to the lords of Tyre!"—Act i. sc. 3.
> "For that it sav'd *me*, keep it, in like necessity."—Act ii. sc. 1.
> "And you're her labour'd *scholar*. Come, queen o' the feast."
> Act ii. sc. 3.

'Pericles,' I believe, was followed by the 'Two Gentlemen of Verona' and 'Titus Andronicus;' of course I merely mean the first sketches; to which succeeded the first sketch of 'Hamlet,' which must also have been an early play, most probably written

immediately after the death of Sir Philip Sidney* in October, 1586, and brought out at Christmas, or at latest in March, 1586-7. This opinion is singularly confirmed by "sit tabring five years together nothing but to bee, to bee, on a paper drum." Nash's preface to 'Astrophel and Stella,' 1591; and also by the allusion to 'Hamlet' in his Preface to 'Menaphon,' 1587-9.

As Melicertus in this 'Pastoral'† appears to be accepted as Shakspere, and Menaphon as Greene; it follows, Doron must be Peele, and Pheusidippus, Nash; whilst Lamedon would be Lyly, for whom Greene had a great admiration as the author of 'Euphues;' and the tyrant Democles must be Marlowe; of whom Samela says to Melicertus, "I read that mighty Tamburlaine after his wife Zenocrate [the world's wonder] past out of the theatre of this mortal life, he chose stigmatical trulls to please his humourous fancies;" whilst Pesana, an old love of Menaphon's, says to Melicertus: "Abradas, the great Macedonian pirate, thought every one had a letter of Marte, that bare sayles in the ocean; which remark, to my mind, reads like an allusion to Shakspere, as the author of the First Part of the 'Contention;' whilst by "traumatical trulls" Marlowe is accused of writing plays very inferior to 'Tamburlaine.'

This solution of 'Menaphon' is confirmed by Nash's preface, wherein he highly praises Peele as the author of the 'Arraignment of Paris,' and abuses Marlowe as thinking "to outbrave better pens with the swelling bombast of a bragging blanke verse." But I much doubt, if Nash includes Shakspere among the Noverints; more probably he means a compliment to the author of 'Hamlet;' for Greene would scarcely have allowed any remarks offensive to Melicertus; and with reference to Greene's

* The duration of the play, from the death of old Hamlet to the final scene, occupies a period of full five months, *vide* 'Footsteps of Shakspere,' p. 42-3; and it is a singular coincidence, Sir Henry Sidney died on the 5th May, and Sir Philip on the 17th October, 1586, just five months and twelve days intervening; and we may reasonably infer the coincidence in the period of time was intentional on the part of the poet.

† 'Menaphon' appears to have been founded on 'Pericles,' the long separation of father, mother, and child, their re-union, and, above all, the fulfilment of the oracle connecting it with Diana appearing to Pericles in a vision.

It is also highly probable, that in 'Pandosto,' on which the 'Winter's Tale' is founded, Shakspere is pointed at in Dorastus, and Nash in the child, Garinter; and from its inferiority we may infer it preceded 'Menaphon,' and was consequently composed early in 1587.

attack in 1592, it is now acknowledged his words have not that offensive signification as was formerly supposed. I may here add, Mr. Staunton in the *Athenæum*, February 7, 1874, points out that Chettle's panegyric applies to Nash and not to Shakspere, of whom we have not the slightest evidence that he took any notice of the scurrilous attack; whilst Nash had called it "a scald, trivial, lying pamphlet;" consequently the line, "And his facetious grace in writing, that approves his art," can only be applicable to Nash, who was a keen satirist, and had written several pamphlets; whilst Shakspere had *written*—that is, published—nothing at all; so how could the phrase "facetious grace in writing" be applied to him?*

As Hamlet in the churchyard says: "These three years I have taken note of it," we may infer Shakspere had then been three years in London; and consequently 'Pericles' may have been produced as early as Christmas, 1583, or at latest in the spring of 1584; and Mr. Halliwell strongly supports the statement of Dryden:

"Shakspere's own muse her 'Pericles' first bore."

'Hamlet' was followed by 'Henry VI.,' First Part, and the Two Parts of the 'Contention' in 1587-8. These plays are so different in character and construction to the plays that follow,

* "*Green*, vile *Greene*, would thou wearest halfe so honest as the worst of the four (*Marlowe*) whom thou upbraidest: or half so learned as the unlearnedst of the three." (*Nash*) p. 130.

"Good sweete Oratour, be a divine Poet indeed; and use heavenly eloquence indeed; and employ thy golden talent with amounting usance indeed." (*Nash*) p. 147.

"Such lively springs of streaming eloquence; and such right-Olympical hills of amounting witte: I cordially recommend to the deere lovers of the Muses: and namely to the professed sons of the same; Edmond Spenser . . . Samuel Daniel, *Thomas Nash*, and the rest; whom I affectionately thank for their studious endeavours, commendably employed in enriching and polishing their native Tongue, never so furnished or embellished as of late."

"I speak generally to every springing wit, but more specially to a few: and *at this instant singularly to one:* whom I salute with a hundred blessings; and entreat with as many prayers, to love them, that love all good wittes; and hate none, but the Divell, and his incarnate Impes notoriously professed. I protest, *it was not thy person* that I any-way disliked; *but thy rash, and desperate proceeding against thy well-willers:* which in some had been unsufferable; in an youth was more excusable: in a reformed youth is pardonable: and rather matter of concordance than of aggrievance."—P. 148, Gabriel Harvey's Third Letter, 'Shakspere Allusion-Books,' Part I. Nash, I consider, is the person alluded to.

I cannot doubt they preceded 'Love's Labour's Won,' 'Love's Labour's Lost,' and the 'Comedy of Errors.'

'Pericles,'* 'Two Gentlemen of Verona,' 'Titus Andronicus,' 'Hamlet,' the first sketches of the Three Parts of 'Henry VI.,' 'Love's Labour's Won,' 'Love's Labour's Lost,' and the 'Comedy of Errors,' have all been re-written, enlarged, and amended; but I am not aware that a play, written by Peele, Greene, or Marlowe was ever re-written, enlarged, or amended; nor is there the slightest evidence that any two of these three playwrights ever joined together in writing a play; and yet we are assured traces of all three, as well as of Shakspere, are to be found in the First Part of 'Henry VI.,' the Two Parts of the 'Contention' being variously attributed to Marlowe and Greene, or to Marlowe and Peele; whilst Mr. Knight's valuable Essay on the Three Parts of 'Henry VI.,' showing the *unity of action*, the *unity of characterisation*, and *identity of manner*, is apparently ignored, except inferentially by one voice, alas! now extinct. Thus writes the late Mr. Simpson: "The Drama of the fall of the house of Lancaster is completed by the play of 'Richard III.' The references in this play to the three parts of 'Henry VI.' are so many as to make it impossible to deny the serial character and unity of the whole tetralogy, whatever questions may be raised as to the authorship of parts of it."

Under the head of 'Metrical Evidences' in 'Who wrote Henry VI.?' Mr. Fleay observes: "In Peele there are many lines with an extra syllable in the middle of the verse, not like Shakspere's, with a pause after it, as in—

"'Or I | mistake | *you.* || O would | her name were—'
'The cove | ring sky | is no | *thing.* || Bohe | mia noth | ing;'

in which, moreover, the extra syllable is in Shakspere a light one: but without a pause, and often a heavy syllable. Here are a few instances from 'Edward I.:'

* We are bound in justice to Shakspere's editors to believe they published no plays but what they believed to be Shakspere's; and the omission of 'Pericles' may have been accidental. In confirmation of this opinion I can personally give a curious coincidence—in summing up the number of plays written by Shakspere I omitted 'Pericles,' commencing with the 'Two Gentlemen of Verona,' *vide* 'Footsteps of Shakspere,' p. 145, 1862.

"'Owen | ap Rice | whĭle wĕ stay | for fur | ther force.'
'Victo | rious Ed | wărd tŏ whom | the Scot | tish kings.'
'Lovely | Queen Ĕl | ĭnŏr un | tŏ hĕr turn | thine eye.'
'Baliol | behold | I give | thĕĕ thĕ Scot | tish crown.'
'Our so | lemn ser | vĭce ŏf co | rona | tion past.'

These all occur in two pages, the first I open. Here are some from 2 'Hen. VI.:'

"'Duke Hum | frĕy hăs done | a mi | racle | to-day.'
'You make | ĭn ă day | my lord | whole towns | to fly.'
'Under | the coun | tĕnănce and | confe | dĕrăcie.'
'The sec | ond Will | iăm ŏf Hat | field, and | the third.'
'And left | behind | him Rich | ărd hĭs on | ly son.'
'Till Hen | ry Bull | ĭngbrŏoke duke | of Lan | caster.'

All from one page."

I should certainly read several of these lines differently:

"Victo | rious Edwărd | to whom | the Scot | tish kings."
"Baliol | behold | I give thĕe | the Scot | tish crown."
"Our so | lemn servĭce | of co | rona | tion past."
"Duke Humphrey | has done | a mi | racle | to-day."
"And left | behind hĭm | Richard | his on | ly son."

And as William of Hatfield was the second son, and not the second William, I should certainly read:

"The secŏnd, | William | of Hat | field, and | the third."

And there is, as in Shakspere, a slight pause, though very trivial, after "Victorious Edwărd, I give thĕe, Duke Humphrĕy, behind hĭm, the secŏnd." But according to Mr. Fleay, the actor would speak thus:

"The second William of Hatfield, and the third—"

and would stutter out,

"Baliol, behold, I give | thĕĕ thĕ Scot | tish crown."

Our great critic in his metrical zeal evidently forgets—"Comedies are writ to be spoken."

The Three Parts of 'Henry VI.'* are, I feel assured, founded on an old play, called 'Henry VI.,' and which may be the play alluded to by Nash; and this opinion is confirmed by the fact that on the same page in 'Pierce Penniless' there is a passage

* Nor can the circumstance of the 'Contention' having been acted at other theatres than Shakspere's be taken as evidence, since according to Mr. Collier: "It is probable that prior to the year 1592 or 1593, the copyright of plays was little understood and less recognised; and the various companies were performing the same dramas at the same time, although perhaps they had been bought by one company for its sole use."

having reference to the 'Famous Victories,' on which Shakspere founded 'Henry V.' and the Two Parts of 'Henry IV.;' consequently this old play may have embraced the whole reign of Henry VI., and was so highly praised by Nash out of jealousy of Shakspere in 1592; and as the play was marked *ne*, it may at that time have received some additions by Greene.

Nor is there a tittle of evidence that the First Part of 'Henry VI.' was ever called 'Henry VI.;' and, in fact, the very construction of the play proves it could never have been so named; for it ends not only before the marriage of the king, but the martyrdom of Joan of Arc in 1429 follows the death of Talbot in 1453; which latter event has been with the utmost felicity of dramatic art placed in the First Part; thus leaving the course open for the Two Parts of the 'Contention,' or history of the civil war, without reference to the war in France.

Nor is Shakspere accountable for the latter scenes connected with the Pucelle, nor for the ridiculous scene in Orleans, which was, no doubt, in the old play and received with roars of laughter by the groundlings; but he made a full and accepted apology to France in his 'Henry V.;' as François Victor Hugo remarks: "Shakspere *répète la phrase* rapportée par Monstrelet, mais en rejetant ce qu'elle contient de blessant pour toute la nation vaincue." That is, he omitted "pour les péchés des François." Further, let any Frenchman remark the noble character of the Pucelle in the interview with Burgundy, act iii. sc. 3. Her praise of young Talbot and her ridicule of Talbot's titles, act iv. sc. 7, and her remark to Charles and Burgundy: "Of all base passions fear is most accursed (act v. sc. 2). We may then infer the passages in the fourth scene are partly retained from the old play, on account of popular prejudices and the interest of the company.

From a review of these early plays and from the fact they were all rewritten and amended, we are forced to the conclusion, Shakspere took to the stage not as a mere playwright, but with the thorough spirit of an artist, and, consequently, studied zealously the plays of Peele and Greene, their art and versification; and more especially were his energies roused on the appearance of 'Tamburlaine,' of Marlowe's "mighty line;" as Steevens observes, "Almost every young poet begins by imitation;" and thus we may readily and reasonably account for traces

of Peele, Greene, and Marlowe, in these his first historical plays; but he was no mean imitator or copyist, any more than Byron, who, after "a deep study of the writings of Pope," produced his 'English Bards and Scotch Reviewers.'

Throughout the seventeenth century and far into the eighteenth no one had the slightest suspicion of the genuineness of these plays, till Theobald, who by-the-bye has a niche in the 'Dunciad,'* cast a doubt on their authenticity, and was ably seconded by Malone, an Irishman, who, after helping to blacken Shakspere's character, whitewashed his bust to make things straight; and now, after more than a century's discussion, not two critics agree with reference to the scenes and passages supposed to have been written by Marlowe, Peele, or Greene.

According to Mr. Furnivall every reader will, like Gervinus, see three hands in the First Part of 'Henry VI.,' "though all may not agree in the parts of the play they assign to those hands. Reading it independently though hastily," he assigns to Shakspere act ii. sc. 4, and probably act iv. and act v., except the *third* scene in act iv.

Mr. Fleay attributes to Shakspere, act ii. sc. 4, 5—act iv. sc. 4, and act v. sc. 1, 5; and to Greene the French plot, including the three Talbot scenes, act iv. sc. 5, 6, 7, but only the *second* scene in the *fifth* act; the *third* scene, however, in the *fifth* act, at least the passage between Suffolk and Lady Margaret, is certainly by Shakspere:

*Suff.* "She's beautiful, and therefore to be woo'd;
She is a woman, therefore to be won."—Act v. sc. 3.
*Dem.* "She is a woman, therefore may be mov'd;
She is a woman, therefore may be won."
*Titus Andronicus*, act ii. sc. 1.

Again Mr. Fleay gives to Marlowe the *first* and *third* scenes in the *first* act; but Mr. Grant White gives the *first* and *second* scene to Greene, and sees "traces of Marlowe's furious pen" in act ii. sc. 2, 3, which Mr. Fleay gives to Greene, and Dyce to Shakspere, whose opinion is supported by the following extract:

*Aar.* "I train'd thy brethren to that guileful hole."
*Titus Andronicus*, act v. sc. 1.

* "There hapless Shakspere, yet of Tibbald sore;"
a nasty sore truly, a deep spreading ulcer; but Theobald himself actually gives a salve or plantain for the wound, if his followers had but the wit to apply it:—"unless they were wrote by him very early."

*Count.* "To me bloodthirsty lord;
And for that cause I train'd thee to my house."
*Henry VI.*, act ii. sc. 3. First Part.

Thus the whole of the 'Contention' is foreshadowed in the very scenes attributed to Shakspere: act ii. sc. 4, 5, and act v. sc. 1, 3, 5.

But what is very remarkable, Mr. Grant White gives the three Talbot scenes to Peele, and Mr. Dyce to Shakspere, as well as the interview between Talbot and the Countess, in act ii. sc. 3. Thus the Talbot scenes are given by one critic to Greene, by another to Peele, and by a third to Shakspere; and the Auvergne scene by one to Greene, by another to Marlowe, and by a third to Shakspere; whilst Mr. Fleay gives the Two Parts of the 'Contention' to Marlowe and Peele, Mr. Grant White to Shakspere and Greene, and Mr. Dyce to Marlowe. Again Mr. Fleay attributes the "Iden and Cade scenes" to Peele, but Mr. Grant White with equal positiveness assigns them to Shakspere. Surely there must be some serious flaw in the indictment, when three such eminent, I may say, legal authorities or judges thus differ in their decision;—when doctors disagree, the usual answer is, "trust to nature," that is, Shakspere.

Further, Mr. White's argument, that numerous passages in the Two Parts of the 'Contention' were written by Greene on account of the expression "for to," as "for to obey," "for to revenge," falls to the ground, when he acknowledges, that "others without number of Shakspere's and Marlowe's contemporaries did use this idiom;" surely the ignorant Shakspere, coming up to London from the country, may have been equally guilty of such an idiom. In a scene in the Second Part of the 'Contention' corresponding to act ii. sc. 4, in the Third Part of 'Henry VI.,' there are only two speeches; the second is retained, but the other, which is rejected, is ascribed to Greene on account of the lines:

"Shall *lop* thy limbs and *slice* thy cursed heart,
*For to* revenge the murders thou hast made."

Mr. White points out "lop thy limbs" is found in the Induction to 'James the Fourth,' and "*slice* the tender fillets of my life" in 'Orlando Furioso;' but Mr. White and others have overlooked the fact, that *lop* occurs once in 'Pericles' and twice in 'Titus Andronicus,' and the 'Contention' was un-

doubtedly written before 'Orlando Furioso;' whilst in a scene of only two short speeches, it is highly improbable one was written by Greene and the other by Shakspere. The passage in 'Perimedes the Blacksmith,' 1588, is strongly opposed to the supposition, Greene had a hand in these plays, especially in conjunction with Marlowe: "I keep my old course to palter up something in prose, using my old poesie still, *Omne tulit punctum*, although lately two gentlemen poets, made two madmen of Rome beat it out of their paper bucklers, and had it in derision, for that I could not make my verses jet upon the stage in tragical buskins, every word filling the mouth like the faburden of Bo-Bell, daring God out of heaven with that atheist Tamburlen, or blaspheming with the mad priest of the Sonne."—'Perimedes,' 1588.

As Shakspere is credited with the Temple Garden scene, and with the following scene, where Plantagenet has an interview with Mortimer, and also with the third and fifth scene of the fifth act, to him are attributed the very scenes from whence as from a fountain flow the two Parts of the 'Contention:'

"This quarrel will drink blood another day,"

being the last line in act ii. sc. 4; and as no two critics can agree in the allotment of the other scenes in the play, it is surely a reasonable inference, these plays are early sketches of Shakspere's varied genius.

In support of Shakspere's claim to the "Talbot scenes" may be adduced the following passage:

*Rich. II.* "And there the antick sits,
Scoffing his state and grinning at his pomp."
*Rich. II.*, act iii. sc. 2.

*Tal.* "Thou antick death, which laugh'st us here to scorn."
*Henry VI.*, act iv. sc. 7. First Part.

And further, this very speech in 'Richard II.,' act iii. sc. 2, as well as the speech in the dungeon of the castle, act v. sc. 5, corresponds in its pathos with Henry's speech:

"Oh, God! me thinks it were a happy life."
*Henry VI.*, act ii. sc. 5. Third Part.

Which speech to my astonishment, Mr. Fleay attributes to Marlowe.

*K. Rich.* "We are amaz'd; and thus long have we stood
To watch the fearful bending of thy knee."
*Richard II.*, act iii. sc. 3.

*K. Henry.* "Why, Warwick, hath thy knee forgot to bow?"
*Henry VI.*, act v. sc. 1. Second Part.

Again, in 'Richard II,' act v., the Queen waits to see the King going to the Tower, just as Gloster witnesses the disgrace of the Duchess.

Mr. Furnival quotes the following two lines:

"Ten thousand French have tane the Sacrament."
*Henry VI.*, act iv. sc. 2. First Part.
"A dozen of them heere have tane the Sacrament."
*Richard II.*, act v. sc. 2.

*Sal.* "It is great sin to swear unto a sin;
But greater sin to keep a sinful oath."
*Henry VI.*, act v. sc. 1. Second Part.

*Princess.* "'Tis deadly sin to keep that oath, my lord,
And sin to break it."—*Love's Labour's Lost*, act ii.

*Queen Marg.* "And take my heart with thee.
*Suff.* A jewel lock'd into the woeful'st cask."
*Henry VI.*, act iii. sc. 2. Second Part.
'"Or captain jewels in the carcanet."—*Sonnet* 52.

And when Queen Margaret puts the paper crown on York's head, and says:

"Stamp, rave, and fret, that I may sing and dance,"
Act i. sc. 4, Third Part,

is she not the same playful creature, turned to evil, as when she played the *asides* with Suffolk, 'Henry VI.,' First Part, act v. sc. 3; and is it probable Shakspere would have introduced her, contrary to historical fact, into 'Richard III.' with all the minute references to the fearful deeds in the 'Contention,' had he not been the author of those plays?

Again, compare the Pucelle at Rouen, act iii. sc. 2, with the Countess of Salisbury scoffing at David in 'Edward III.'

In conclusion I hold, that Shakspere wrote the sketches of the Three Parts of 'Henry VI.' in 1587-8, enlarged and corrected them in 1590, and finally amended them in 1594; after which period the earlier copies, being less carefully guarded, fell into the hands of the Pembroke Company; whilst the Earl of Sussex's Company obtained an early copy of 'Titus Andronicus.'

We must not, however, forget two plays of singular interest, the 'Merry Wives of Windsor,' and the 'Midsummer Night's Dream;' the former, it is supposed, was written in the course of a fortnight by command of the Queen; but her Majesty's commands were most probably limited to the writing of a comedy;

and it appears to have been written at Christmas, 1592; as the German Duke received his passport September 2nd, 1592.

This opinion with reference to the date of the comedy is confirmed by the numerous "allusions and resemblance of passages in 'Endymion' and 'Midas,' forming a mass of evidence, which forces on us the conclusion, that Pistol, like Sir Tophas, is a caricature of Marlowe; that Sir Hugh Evans is a Welsh portrait of Lyly; and that Shakspere is acting the part of Sir John Falstaff, enjoying the fun, and very discreetly putting the buck's horns upon his own head to save himself from a worse fate, the good-humoured wrath of the monarch of Lesbos."—*Vide* 'The Footsteps of Shakspere.'

In the "two gentlemen dwelling at Windsor, Mr. Ford and Mr. Page," are shadowed Greene and Peele; whilst Nash is satirised as Slender, with Simple for his servant, who replies to Mrs. Quickly's question: "Does he not wear a great round beard, like a glover's paring-knife?"

*Sim.* "No, forsooth; he has but a little wee face, with a little yellow beard; a Cain-coloured beard."—Act i. sc. 4.

Nash in 'Pierce Penniless' speaks of his "beardless years;" he should have said, chin or face, as he was then in his twenty-fifth year.

But the most interesting character is Dr. Caius; possibly there may have been a French physician in Windsor at that time; but such a coincidence would merely aid the poet to cloak his satire and shield it from a too direct personality. In the duel, however, with Sir Hugh Evans, Dr. Caius unmasks himself as "Doctor Gabriel Harvey;" this solution is confirmed by the following phrase in Harvey's Third Letter, 1592, "as Dr. Caius would say;" and which letter, there cannot be a doubt, Shakspere must have read; whilst "let them keep their limbs whole and *hack our English*," act iii. sc. 1, would be a satirical allusion to Harvey's verses and Lyly's 'Euphues.'

Whether the 'Merry Wives of Windsor' was enlarged and amended before or after the First Part of 'Henry IV.' matters little; but the first sketch was certainly written about Christmas, 1592.

Shakspere, in the joy of his heart at the honour conferred on him by the Queen, repays her Majesty with the beautiful

"Vision of Oberon" in the 'Midsummer-night's Dream,' certainly composed before the death of Marlowe; and perhaps a thousand years hence some Fijian professor of poetry may recognise Queen Elizabeth and Ralegh in Theseus and Hippolyta.

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## SHAKSPERE AND MARLOWE.

It seems to be generally agreed, 'Tamburlaine,' at least the First Part, was acted in 1586, and 'Faustus' in 1587 or early in 1588. In these two plays, 'Tamburlaine' and 'Faustus,' we have the man Marlowe, body and soul; but his originality there ceases and he succumbs to the superior genius of Shakspere, just as Achilles in his wrath had sense enough remaining to recognise the superior power of Agamemnon. Let any person read 'Tamburlaine' and 'Faustus,' then let him read the 'Jew of Malta,' and he will readily perceive how diligently and earnestly the author must have studied the Shaksperian plays. But as it is universally believed the 'Jew of Malta' preceded 'Romeo and Juliet,' we must examine into the dates of the two plays.*

As Lady Capulet says of Juliet, "She's not fourteen," and the nurse replies: "'Tis since the earthquake now eleven years,"— "come Lammas-eve at night shall she be fourteen," we are forced to the conclusion 'Romeo and Juliet' was composed early in 1591; whilst the earliest notice of the 'Jew of Malta' is in Henslow's 'Diary,' February 26, 1591-2. Now as Abigail is "A fair young maid scarce fourteen years of age," act i., I cannot resist the impression, it is an allusion to Juliet; which feeling is confirmed by the line:

> "But stay: what star shines yonder in the east?"

for whilst in 'Romeo and Juliet,' the passage:

> "But soft! what light through yonder window breaks?
> It is the east, and Juliet is the sun;"

is, in a young and passionate lover, as natural as poetical, the

* It is very remarkable, whilst 'Tamburlaine' and 'Faustus' are nearly free "from jigging veins of rhyming mother-wits," in this tragedy, the 'Jew of Malta,' there are numerous couplets, besides one whole speech in rhyme. In 'Faustus' I have noticed only two couplets. I may add there are five couplets in the first scene of 'Tamburlaine,' and probably not three more in the Two Parts; hence I am inclined to infer, Marlowe had previously written a play in rhyme, but found it an incumbrance to his muse.

line in Marlowe is no less improbable than ridiculous in the mouth of a miserly old Jew on seeing his daughter in her night-gown.

Again,

> "These arms of mine shall be thy sepulchre,"

may be a reminiscence of:

> "Now my old arms are young John Talbot's grave."
> *Henry VI.*, act iv. sc. 7. First Part.

Whilst,

> "These arms of mine shall be thy winding-sheet;
> My heart, sweet boy, shall be thy sepulchre,"
> *Henry VI.*, act ii. sc. 5, Third Part,

if not written in the amended play before the 'Jew of Malta,' can only be regarded as a satire, keen and critical, on Marlowe's petty theft.

Again, the lines:

> "And in the shadow of the silent night
> Doth shake contagion from her sable wings,"
> *Jew of Malta*, act i. sc. 2,

remind us of:

> "and from their misty jaws
> Breathe foul contagious darkness in the air."
> *Henry VI.*, act iv. sc. 1. Second Part.

Whilst,

> "Who with their drowsy, slow, and flagging wings,
> Clip dead men's graves,"

is as like to Marlowe, as night to day; but then I am neither poet nor critic. Show me a passage in 'Tamburlaine' or 'Faustus' so true to nature, so descriptive of the owl's flight—drowsy, slow, and flagging—which the boy Shakspere must often have witnessed in the churchyard at Stratford; then let it be acknowledged Marlowe is the poet of nature, and Shakspere a pitiful imitator.*

* This three adjective line, 'gaudy, blabbing, and remorseful,'—'drowsy, slow, and flagging,' may be almost regarded as diagnostic of Shakspere; it occurs four times in the First Part of 'Henry VI.,' eight times in the Second Part, and ten times in the Third Part; and seven times in the 'Contention;' whilst it occurs only five times in 'Tamburlaine,' once in 'Faustus,' once in 'Edward II.,' once in the 'Massacre at Paris,' and not once in 'Dido,' nor in the 'Jew of Malta;' and it is of rare occurrence in the plays of Greene and Peele, excepting in the 'Arraignment of Paris.' But in Shakspere, besides the Three Parts of 'Henry VI.,' and the 'Contention,' it occurs twenty times in 'Richard III.,' and repeatedly in other plays, as 'Titus Andronicus,' 'Love's Labour's Lost,' 'Comedy of Errors,' and 'Richard II.'

The following passage is evidently a reminiscence of 'Pericles:'

*Bar.* "One turn'd my daughter, therefore he shall die;
The other knows enough to have my life,
Therefore, 'tis not requisite he should live."
"No more, but so: it must and shall be done."
"Yet if he knows our meaning, could he scape?"
*Jew of Malta*, act iv.

*Ant.* "He hath found the meaning, for the which we mean
To have his head."
"And therefore instantly this prince must die.
Say, is it done?
*Thal.* My lord, 'tis done."—*Pericles*, act i. sc. 1.

Again, the dying speech of Barabas in its fiendish malignity is clearly an imitation of one of Aaron's:

*Bar.* "Know, governor, 'twas I that slew thy son,—
I fram'd the challenge that did make them meet:
Know, Calymath, I aim'd thy overthrow:
*Jew of Malta*, act v.

*Aar.* "Well, let my deeds be witness of my worth.
I train'd thy brethren to that guileful hole,
Where the dead corpse of Bassianus lay:
I wrote the letter that thy father found."
*Titus Andronicus*, act v. sc. 1.

Even setting up the dead friar against the wall is taken from 'Titus Andronicus:'

*Itha.* "Nay, master, be ruled by me a little."
[*Takes the body, sets it upright against the wall, and puts a staff in its hand.*]
*Jew of Malta*, act iv.

*Aar.* "Oft have I digg'd up dead men from their graves,
And set them upright at their dear friends' doors."
*Titus Andronicus*, act v. sc. 1.

It appears from the testimony of eminent authorities that Shakspere actually wrote only one play, 'Romeo and Juliet,' between Christmas, 1589, and September, 1592. We cannot then doubt it was at this period, most probably in 1590, he first enlarged and amended the plays now called the 'Three Parts of Henry VI.;' and 'Romeo and Juliet,' composed in 1591, was immediately followed by 'Richard III.,' at least the first sketch, which may have been the play that so excited Greene's jealousy; whilst the 'Midsummer Night's Dream' was undoubtedly written between September, 1592, and June, 1593; where the "learning late deceased in beggary" refers to the death of the poet Greene.

It was at this period Marlowe wrote the 'Massacre at Paris,' which was first acted, January 30, 1592; and although the text

is "both mutilated and abounding in corruption, and even in its pristine state was the very worst of Marlowe's dramas" (Dyce), yet the characters of the Duke of Guise and Queen Catherine are vigorously drawn, being founded apparently on the characters of York and Queen Margaret in 'Henry VI.,' Part Second, act v. sc. 1.

Let us now examine 'Edward II.' It was entered in the Stationers' Books, July 6, 1593; and as there is no evidence of its having been acted, we may presume it was Marlowe's last play; consequently all the parallelisms adduced by Mr. Dyce must be reversed, and I shall merely observe the following lines:

> "The shepherd, *nipt* with biting *winter's* rage,
> Frolics not more to see the *painted spring*—"

reminded me of the lines at the end of 'Love's Labour's Lost:'

> *Spring.* "When daisies pied—
> Do *paint* the meadows with delight."
> *Winter.* "When blood is *nipp'd.*"—*L.L.L.*

But it is remarkable Mr. Dyce should have overlooked the following resemblance:

> *Edw.* "Bear this to the Queen,
> Wet with my tears, and dried again with sighs:
> [*Gives a handkerchief.*]
> If with the sight thereof she be not mov'd,
> Return it back, and dip it in my blood."—*Edward II.*

Did the hand that wrote these imbecile lines write the following fierce passage:

> *Q. Marg.* "Look, York; I stain'd this napkin with the blood
> That valiant Clifford, with his rapier's point,
> Made issue from the bosom of the boy:
> And, if thine eyes can water for his death,
> I give thee this to dry thy cheeks withal."
> *Henry VI.*, act i. sc. 4. Third Part.

It is evident Marlowe borrowed the handkerchief from Shakspere; since he had without acknowledgment purloined from Spenser: "Like to an almond-tree y-mounted high;" and which theft was only discovered on the publication of the 'Faërie Queene' in 1590.

Being in Paris in May, 1875, I took the opportunity of examining François V. Hugo's introductory remarks on Shakspere's plays, and I made the following extract: "Car, ainsi que le prouve l'inscription officielle au registre de Stationers' Hall,

ils [the editors] comptaient d'abord publier, comme *la troisième partie de* 'Henry VI.,' la pièce même, qu'ils ont définitivement donnée comme la première dans l'in-folio de 1623." This information was nothing new, but it suddenly occurred to me, struck me like an electric shock, that Shakspere's play, the First Part, could not have been called 'Henry VI.;' or it would never have been proposed to publish the Two Parts of the 'Contention' as the First and Second Parts of 'Henry VI.;' the blunder would have been too gross; but they had actually been so published, which must be taken as strong evidence the First Part was not called 'Henry VI.' What then was the First Part called? After a few minutes' reflection I guessed—'The Contention of Gloster and Winchester,' but immediately perceived that would make three 'Contentions;' then it must be the 'Protector,' or the 'Protectorate of Humphrey, Duke of Gloster.' This supposition receives an extraordinary confirmation from the frequent repetition of *Protector* in the following lines:

"And that I be Protector over him;"
"And to conclude I am Protector now."
"Entreat my Lord Protector for his life."
"My Lord Protector greets you."—*Edward II.*

Whilst if Y. Mortimer be a satire on Shakspere, the passage:

"The Queen and Mortimer
Shall rule the realm, the King—"

may be an allusion to:

*Suff.* "Margaret shall now be Queen, and rule the King;
But I will rule both her, the King, and realm."
*Henry VI.*, act v. sc. 5. First Part, or *The Protector.*

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## SHAKSPERE, SIDNEY, AND SPENSER.

WITH regard to the publication of Shakspere's 'Sonnets,' it was and perhaps is still, a very general opinion that William Herbert is meant by the W. H. in the dedication, and such may have been the publisher's insinuation; I am, however, convinced Thorpe's edition is a piratical publication; and this conclusion is forced on me by the irregularity and want of connection between the various sonnets; for had they been delivered to the

publisher either by Southampton, Herbert, or Shakspere, they would necessarily have appeared in a perfect form.

We all know Shakspere was as much a realist as idealist; and if, as poet, he ascends to the seventh heaven of invention and marries the Muses, on descending to the earth, with a heart full of human sympathies, he embodies these celestial beings, changing them into beautiful women; as Philip, in Decker's 'Northward Ho,' says to his father, the estimable poet, Bellamont: "You have often told me, the nine Muses are all women and you deal with them: may not I the better be allowed one than you so many?" If these poets then are so allegorical even in their plays, may we not be justified in regarding the dark lady of the 'Sonnets' as the *Sonnet-muse*, with black hair because she is an Italian, the sonnet having its origin in Italy; and in 'Juliet Unveiled,' 'Notes and Queries,' 1863, I have pointed out that many of these sonnets are founded, or at least the hint has been taken from 'Astrophel and Stella;' and I may here add, Shakspere probably took the hint of urging the young Earl to marry from Languet's advice to Sir Philip Sidney.

In December, 1581, Sidney, being at Wilton, commences a letter to Sir F. Walsingham: "*The country affords no other stuff for letters but humble salutations, which humbly and heartily I send to yourself, my good lady, and my exceeding like to be good friend.*" The person designated as "my exceeding like to be good friend" must have been Miss Frances Walsingham, who became Lady Sidney in the spring of 1583.

This curious expression, "my exceeding like to be good friend," reminds us of a similar one in the 'Arcadia:' "Then friendship, a diligent officer, took care to see the statute thoroughly observed," in the minute account of the dawning of Philoclea's love for Zelmane, which seems a mere transcript from nature of Fanny's growing love, of her partiality and admiration for the author himself. It may then be easily guessed, Philoclea (glory, the reward of valour) is no other than Miss Walsingham; and Philip must have been constantly at her father's house during the autumn of 1579, as it was chiefly with the consent, if not at the instigation, of Sir Francis he wrote his letter to the Queen.

Fanny, at the time of commencing the 'Arcadia,' was only in her fourteenth year, and we may presume Philip was not exactly

in love; but there was something about her that reminded him of a former love, of his boyish affection for Anne Cecil, that "sweet jewel," as his father delighted to call her; and it appears he must have lived during two very susceptible years, from fourteen to sixteen, under the impression he was engaged to Anne Cecil. In the summer of 1580 Sidney thus describes the fatal effects of Philoclea's beauty: "*Then began,*" says Pyrocles to Musidorus, "*the fatal overthrow of all my liberty, when walking among the pictures in Kalander's* [*Sir F. Walsingham's*] *house, you yourself delivered unto me what you had understood of Philoclea, who much resembling* [*though, I must say, much surpassing*] *the Lady Zelmane, whom so well I loved; there were mine eyes infected, and at your mouth did I drink my poison.*"—'The Arcadia,' lib. i.

And again, Pyrocles, dressed as an Amazon and passing under the name of Zelmane, thus describes to Philoclea the death of Zelmane: "*And then kissing me, and often desiring me not to condemn her of lightness, in mine arms she delivered her pure soul to the purest place; leaving me as full of agony, as kindness, pity, and sorrow could make an honest heart. For I must confess for true, that if my stars had not wholly reserved me for you, there else perhaps I might have loved, and, which had been most strange, begun my love after death; whereof let it be the less marvel, because somewhat she did resemble you, though as far short of your perfection, as herself dying, was of herself flourishing; yet something there was, which, when I saw a picture of yours, brought again her figure into my remembrance, and made my heart as apt to receive the wound, as the power of your beauty with unresistable force to pierce.*"—'Arcadia,' lib. ii.

These two extracts, certainly written in 1580, should be well weighed with the fact of Sidney's intimacy with Walsingham in 1579, with his letter to him in Dec. 1581, and with his marriage in 1583; and it follows, Philoclea is a lover's portrait of Miss Walsingham; whilst Stella is a totally distinct character:

> "Stella! fiercest shepherdess,
> Fiercest, but yet fairest ever."—*Ninth Song.*

It is acknowledged Sir Philip's ruling passion was military fame; and "her fair neck a foul yoke bore," would be merely

a literal truth as applied to the Goddess of Chivalry; since it appears the Earl of Oxford, a man of most depraved character, had been declared the victor at several tournaments; and in the 41st sonnet Sidney speaks of having in the tournament at Whitsuntide, 1581,

> "*obtain'd the prize,*
> *Both by the judgment of the English eyes,*
> *And of some sent from that sweet en'my France;*"

but not having had the honour awarded to him by the Queen he may justly say:

> "*Stella hath refused me!*
> *Astrophel, that so well served*
> *In this pleasant spring.*"—Ninth Song.

I therefore hold Stella is simply the poet's muse of chivalry; whilst in the beautiful story of 'Argalus and Parthenia' in the 'Arcadia' we may perhaps discover the high-spirited Penelope in Parthenia.

The story of 'Argalus and Parthenia' is merely an episode, but in which the author seems to have taken a special interest. It occupies only a few pages early in the First Book; then we hear no more of the lovers, until in the Third Book we find them living a happy domestic life, which is suddenly interrupted, and Argalus is slain by Amphialus; on which Parthenia, inconsolable for his loss, arms herself as a knight, and challenging Amphialus, is slain by him. The devoted pair are thus reunited in death, and on their tombstone is inscribed *an ornamented epitaph*, a most peculiar and significant sign of the great interest Sidney must have taken in the persons alluded to.

Before reading the extracts it should be mentioned that Charles Blount, Lord Mountjoy, and Earl of Devonshire, "had in early life privately interchanged vows of attachment with Penelope, eldest daughter of Walter Devereux, Earl of Essex. But he had not yet raised himself above the adversity, which clouded his early years; and the parents of his lady-love forced their daughter to give her hand to Robert, Lord Rich. A guilty connexion between the lovers followed; and at last Lady Rich abandoned her husband, and fled to the arms of the earl, taking with her her five children, whom she declared to be his issue."—'Lives of Eminent Englishmen,' by G. Cunningham.

"About two years since, it so fell out, that he (Clitophon) brought him (Argalus) to a great lady's house, sister to my master, who had with her her only daughter, the fair Parthenia; fair indeed [fame I think itself daring not to call any fairer, if it be not Helena, Queen of Corinth, and the two incomparable sisters of *Arcadia*] and that which made her fairness much the fairer, was, that it was but a fair Embassador of a most fair mind; full of wit, and a wit which delighted more to judge itself, than to show itself:" etc., etc. "They loved, although for a while the fire thereof [hope's wings being cut off] were blown by the bellows of despair upon this occasion.

"There had been a good while before, and so continued, a suitor to this same Lady, a great nobleman, though of Laconia, yet near neighbour to Parthenia's mother, named *Demagoras;* a man *mighty in riches and power*, and proud thereof, stubbornly stout, loving nobody but himself, and, for his own delight's sake, *Parthenia;* and pursuing vehemently his desire, *his riches* had so gilded over all his other imperfections, that the old Lady [*though contrary to my Lord her brother's mind*] had given her consent; and using a mother's authority upon her fair daughter, had made her yield thereunto, not because she liked her choice, but because her obedient mind had not yet taken upon it to make choice, and the day of their assurance drew near, when my young Lord *Clitophon* brought this noble *Argalus*, perchance principally to see so rare a sight, as Parthenia by all well-judging eyes was judged.

"But *though few days were before the time of assurance appointed*, yet love that saw he had a great journey to make in short time, hasted so himself, that before her word could tie her to *Demagoras*, her heart had vowed to Argalus, with so grateful a receipt in mutual affection, that if she desired above all things to have *Argalus*, Argalus feared nothing but to miss *Parthenia*. And now *Parthenia* had learned both liking and misliking, loving and loathing, and out of passion began to take the authority of judgment; insomuch, that when the time came that Demagoras, full of proud joy, thought to receive the gift of herself; she, with words of resolute refusal, (though with tears, shewing she was sorry she must refuse), assured her mother, she would first be bedded in her grave, than wedded to

Demagoras. The change was no more strange than unpleasant to the mother, who being determinately [lest I should say of a great Lady, wilfully] bent to marry her to Demagoras, tried all ways, which a witty and hard-hearted mother could use, upon so humble a daughter, in whom the only resisting power was love. But the more she assaulted, the more she taught Parthenia to defend; and the more Parthenia defended, the more she made her mother obstinate in the assault: who at length finding that Argalus standing between them, was it that most eclipsed her affection from shining upon Demagoras, she sought all means how to remove him, so much the more as he manifested himself an unremovable suitor to her daughter: first by employing him in as many dangerous enterprises, as ever the evil step-mother Juno recommended to the famous Hercules. . . . But it was hard to judge, whether he in doing, or she in suffering, showed greater constancy of affection: for, as to Argalus the world sooner wanted occasions, than he valour to go through them: so to Parthenia, malice sooner ceased, than her unchanged patience. Lastly, by treasons Demagoras and she (the mother) would have made away Argalus; but he with providence and courage so past over all, that the mother took such a spiteful grief at it, that her heart broke withal, and she died."

Here the reader should take notice of the curious coincidence, that Parthenia has no father, "to a great Lady's House;" and from the phrase, "though contrary to my Lord her brother's mind," we may infer the Earl of Leicester was opposed to the match.

It should also be noted, the story commences in the First Book, passes over the Second, and reappears in the Third Book. May we not infer, the proposal and marriage of Lady Penelope with Lord Rich occurred at these periods? and further, if there be any truth in the early attachment of Penelope with Lord Mountjoy, Sidney's character must be freed from the reproach, that he was the dastardly lover of Penelope, and allowed her to be sacrificed at the shrine of Lord Rich. Nor can passionate lines from a poem, probably in a great measure allegorical, like 'Astrophel and Stella,' be adduced as historical evidence; whilst the following extract tends to show there could not have been

any early attachment, or even preference, on the part of Mr. Philip to Lady Penelope: "Truly, my lord, I must say to your lordship, as I have said to my Lord of Leicester and Mr. Philip, the breaking off from this match, if the default be on your parts, will turn to more dishonour, than can be repaired with any other marriage."—'Letter of Mr. Waterhouse to Sir H. Sidney, Nov. 14, 1576. Zouch.'

It is unnecessary to continue the story further, but whilst Parthenia has many traits resembling Penelope, Philoclea is a totally distinct character, closely allied to Frances Walsingham and Anne Cecil.

According to Fuller, Miss Walsingham was a lady of "extraordinary handsomeness;" and who, as the mother of the third Earl of Essex, must have had black hair, as well as black eyes, and probably "her cheeks with kindly claret spread;" whilst the golden locks of Philoclea, and of Stella, were merely the poetical fashion of the age in loyal adulation of Queen Elizabeth. If then Philoclea, and, in a certain sense, Stella also, is Miss Walsingham, we are relieved from the revolting supposition, which casts such a dark shadow on the character of Sir Philip Sidney. The following lines by Michael Drayton, whose mistress was an *Idea*, confirm the opinion of the fictitious nature of *Astrophel and Stella;* the linking of Sidney's name with Constable's and Daniel's can admit of no other interpretation:

> "Many there be excelling in this kind,
> Whose well trick'd rhymes with all invention swell;
> Let each command as best shall like his mind;
> Some *Sidney, Constable*, some *Daniel*."—*Sonnet* 2.

Furthermore, the lines in the 'Ruines of Time' and the dedication of 'Astrophel' to the Countess of Essex can only be explained or justified on this supposition; and the Stella in 'Colin Clout's come home again' must also be Lady Essex.

This poem concludes with a reference to the

> "Faire Rosalind of divers fowly blamed,
> For being to that swaine too cruell hard."

On reading the 'Shepherd's Calendar,' when a schoolboy, I confess I regarded Rosalind as the poet's pastoral muse, and now in my seventieth year, I cannot believe the gentle Spenser

was so mean-spirited and so weak as thus to persecute a young lady, page after page, and so rash as to insult his rival, who must have been equally mean-spirited and contemptible, if he did not resent such language:

> "And thou, Menalcas! that by trecheree
> Didst underforge my lasse to wexe so light,
> Shouldst well be knowne for such thy villanee."—*June.*

Perhaps my language, like Spenser's, may be a little "too sporting" for a literary article; nevertheless, it is true. But, happily, Spenser is here alluding to some friend whom he compliments on having written a better pastoral poem than himself; and among the "*shepherds*" in the 'Arcadia' Musidorus represents himself to Dametas as the "younger brother of the shepherd Menalcas, by name Dorus, sent by his father in his tender age to Athens, there to learn some cunning more than ordinary." I may here add, Drayton may have taken the Idea from the following lines:

> *Zelmane.* "Happy be you that may to the Saint, your only Idea,
> [Although simply attir'd] your manly affections utter.
> *The Arcadia*, lib. 1.

E. K., having of course received the information from Spenser, tells us: "Rosalinde is a faigned name; which, being well ordered, will bewray the verie name of his love and mistresse, whom by that name he coloureth." Consequently, when we find the words Rosalinde and Rondelais are formed of the same letters, the corporal presence, the flesh and blood of Rosalind, vanishes into a *roundelay*, which, being a verse of difficult composition, becomes, in the figurative language of the poet, a proud and scornful beauty. In support of this opinion I may adduce the following lines:

> "For she is not like as the other crew
> Of shepherds daughters which emongst you bee,
> But of divine regard and heavenly hew,
> Excelling all that ever ye did see."
> *Colin Clout's come home again.*

And again: "At the least if anything can be added to the loftinesse of *his* conceite, *whom gentle Mistresse Rosalinde once reported to have all the Intelligences at commandement, and an other time christened him Segnior Pegaso.*" This alludes to the pleasant days of love that were gone and past. And it

is rather strange that Harvey should introduce a subject of which the remembrance could not be very pleasing to a deserted lover."—'Spenser,' p. xxi. Routledge & Sons, 1872.

Evidently Harvey did not regard 'Mistresse Rosalinde' as a piece of solid flesh. It seems to me a grievous error to suppose Spenser could have meant by the phrase "being well ordered" the mere division of the name which is already *well ordered.* Consequently, it becomes still more probable the dark lady in the 'Sonnets' (Shakspere's), with her black and mournful eyes, is also an allegorical figure—the sonnet-muse. She is not only connected with Stella by the sonnets 127, 132, and others; but more especially by the sonnets where Shakspere complains of her tyranny and evil influence over him, which undoubtedly, I would say, have their origin in the Fifth Song (*vide* 'Astrophel and Stella').

Nor is it probable that Shakspere, who commenced the 'Sonnets' by recommending his young friend to marry, would have written the sonnets 40, 41, 42, wherein he exposes himself and friend no less to ridicule than contempt, unless they are written as a mere word-play, and not as a fact; whilst Meres simply alludes to the 'Sonnets' as "his sugred sonnets among his private friends."

Having thus cleared, I trust, the characters of Shakspere and Sidney from the erroneous impressions of critics mistaking allegory for fact, I must now draw the attention of the reader to a lamentable misapprehension of one of Spenser's most beautiful tales.

In the letter accompanying 'Colin Clout's come home again' Spenser requests Ralegh to protect him "against the malice of evil mouthes, which are alwaies wide open to carpe and misconstrue my simple meaning." How singularly applicable to his editors and critics, if I may be pardoned the remark, is the phrase "misconstrue my simple meaning!" In this letter, dated "From my house of Kilcolman, the 27th of December, 1591," Spenser speaks of the infinite debt which he owes to Ralegh for "singular favours and sundrie good turns showed to me at my late being in England;" and when we look into the poem we cannot doubt, it must have been composed soon after his return to Ireland; but when he publishes it in 1595, he makes a few

additions which his editors have unfortunately regarded as evidence of its late production. We now come to a far more serious question, where the character of Spenser is gravely compromised:

> "'Is this the faith?' she said—and said no more,
> But turned her face, and fled away for evermore."
> B. iv., c. vii. 36.

As the Fourth Book of the 'Faërie Queene' was not published till 1596, this passage is supposed to refer to Ralegh's imprisonment in the Tower in 1592 on account of a criminal amour with Mistress Throgmorton.* Far from Spenser was such an ungenerous allusion; for in the next canto "the gentle squire recovers grace"—"And him receiv'd again to former favours state" (c. viii. 17); whilst, in the stanzas immediately following, Prince Arthur, and not Timiss, is abused by Sclaunder; which clearly proves the whole canto has reference to a period far anterior to 1592, and that the episode in all probability is founded on Ralegh's

> "lamentable lay
> Of great unkindnesse, and of usage hard,
> Of Cynthia, the Ladie of the Sea,
> Which from her presence faultlesse him debard."

Nor is the allegory at all applicable to Mistress Throgmorton; for Amoretta, twin sister to Belphœbe, represents the amorous disposition of Queen Elizabeth, as the other her chastity; and Sidney says of Gynecia: "Of most unspotted chastity; but of so working a mind, and so vehement spirits, as a man may say, it was happy she took a good course, for otherwise it would have been terrible."—'Arcadia,' lib. i.

But Ralegh after his disgrace in 1592, although he still retained "the post of Captain of the Guard, yet for years could only execute its principal functions by deputy." A clear case of jealousy; Belphœbe could not abide near her—"Benedick the married man."

As Spenser tells us in the 80th sonnet, he had finished the

* The following extract is probably more correct: 'In 1590 Essex excites the fierce wrath of Elizabeth by his secret marriage with Frances Walsingham. In 1592 Ralegh excites a wrath still fiercer by his secret marriage with Elizabeth Throgmorton.—No record of the place or the date of either marriage is now known to exist. Each was hidden from the Queen, until further secrecy had ceased to be possible."—Edwards' *Life of Ralegh.*

six books, that is, before his marriage; it becomes singularly improbable, if he had not finished the Fourth Book before the summer of 1592, especially as he therein merely gives "a solution of former distresses and plots."

For further solution of various plots in the 'Faërie Queene" I must refer the reader to the 'Faërie Queene Unveiled' in 'Notes and Queries,' July, 1863; but I may here observe that Artegal, or Arthur's equal, is Sir Henry Sidney; whilst in the 'Arcadia Unveiled' I have pointed out that Sir Philip Sidney is the Knight of the Red Crosse, or of Holinesse.—'Notes and Queries,' June 6, '63, p. 441.

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## SHAKSPERE, JONSON, AND MARSTON.

"Comedies are writ to be spoken, not read."
*The Parasitaster.*

WHEN Jonson in the 'Apologetical Dialogue' says:

"But sure I am, three years
They did provoke me with their petulant styles.
On every stage,"

it is a remark worthy of Iago himself; for he there insinuates, he made no reply to their attacks, until he wrote the 'Poetaster.' We may, however, take it for granted Marston attacked him first, and perhaps Decker, but certainly not Shakspere; yet Jonson ridicules the latter in 'Every Man in his Humour' as Master Stephen, a country gull. His reason for so doing may be gathered from a phrase in this Dialogue, where he says, his adversaries attacked him probably from an "itch to have me their adversary." But how could he have made such an observation, if he had not had such a feeling in his own mind? and this, I believe, is the key to his attack upon Shakspere, and not any personal ill-feeling, but jealousy of his literary eminence, his wealth, and social position. Herein Jonson had the wisdom of the serpent, for he evidently delighted in the *gaudia belli*, whether of the sword, pen, or bottle; and it was his interest to carry on the war; it roused his energies, sharpened his intellect, and made him the acknowledged rival of the great dramatist.

As I have in the tract, 'Shakspere and Jonson,' given my reason for believing such a dramatic contest occurred between these two poets and others, I will now point out certain passages in Jonson's plays, which may have suggested certain scenes or characters in Shakspere's plays, corresponding one to the other, and *vice versâ;* thus bringing additional evidence that such a contest actually occurred. After performing in 'Every Man in his Humour,' Shakspere must have felt that he was satirised as Master Stephen; and Jonson, no doubt, readily perceived that Malvolio, even more than Sir Andrew Aguecheek, was the retort courteous in 'Twelfth Night.' As it is evident from the opening lines of this play:

> "O, it came o'er my ear like the *sweet sound,*
> That *breathes* upon a bank of *violets,*
> Stealing and giving *odour,*"

that Sir Walter Ralegh is shadowed in the Duke;* consequently in 'Every Man out of his Humour' Ralegh is satirised as Puntarvolo; and the passage, "as of a duke to be in love with a countess," has been regarded as a sneer at 'Twelfth Night.' Whilst, on the other hand, the "gracing" of Puntarvolo may have suggested to Shakspere the trick of Borachio wooing "Margaret the lady Hero's gentlewoman by the name of Hero" in 'Much Ado about Nothing:'

> *Punt.*—"Stay; mine eye hath, on the instant, through the bounty of the window, received the form of a nymph.—Sweet lady, God save you!"
>
> *Gent.* (*above.*) "No, forsooth, I am but the waiting gentlewoman."—Act ii. 1.

There are also in 'Every Man out of his Humour' numerous allusions to 'Love's Labour's Lost,' and Carlo's remark, "Ay, and a constable for your wit," must be a reminiscence of Constable Dull, and may have suggested to Shakspere the constables in 'Much Ado about Nothing,' where the playing on the word *Deformed*—"I know that Deformed, he has been a vile thief

* "*Sweet violets,* Love's paradise, that spread
Your gracious *odours,* which you couched bear
Within your paly faces,
Upon the gentle wing of some calm *breathing* wind,' etc.

These lines are by Ralegh, and prove that *sound* is a misprint for *wind.*

this seven year," has reference to Don John; and we may consequently infer Jonson had been connected with the theatres since 1592-3; and this passage may have given him the idea of retaliating on Shakspere by satirising his friend Lyly (Euphues) as Amorphus, the Deformed, in 'Cynthia's Revels,' where Shakspere is satirised in the ridiculous character of Asotus.

To the sneering insults in 'Cynthia's Revels' Shakspere replies by hanging up Jonson as the cynic Apemantus in 'Timon of Athens,' which, like the 'Revels,' is also founded on the 'Academic Timon;' thus we have a direct connection between these two plays. According to Gervinus, "Diogenes, in Lyly's 'Alexander and Campaspe,' sat to the poet for Timon's contrast, the cynic Apemantus; the quick-striking epigrammatic answers to questions, which seem to be inserted here and there, too much for eliciting with replies, are quite on this model." We thus see with what singular felicity and justice Shakspere revenges both Lyly and himself by satirising Jonson as Apemantus. With reference to Alcibiades, Gervinus innocently observes: "He there pleads in vain for a friend, who has been condemned to death for killing a man in a duel, but the discussion concerns one entirely unknown; we learn nothing whatever of the man's person or home." We know there was but one murderer amongst these playwrights; and in Alcibiades, with his two mistresses, are shadowed Marston and the two parts of 'Antonio and Mellida;' whilst the faithful steward is Decker, and the Players are the senators.

This play, 'Timon of Athens,' in its composition was evidently as distasteful to Shakspere as to the reader; but the castigation had a good effect on malignant Ben; for in the 'Poetaster,' whilst satirising Shakspere as Ovid, and Lyly as Ovid senior, the personalities are less offensive than in the 'Revels;' and whilst Shakspere is represented as the mock Jupiter of a false poetical hierarchy, a set of *counterfeits*, and is dismissed as unworthy of the classical court of Cæsar, Chapman, as Virgil, is enthroned in his stead; that Chapman is Virgil may be gathered from the words of Cæsar:

> "Now he is come out of Campania,
> I doubt not he hath finish'd all his Æneids."

The word *Campania* was probably intended as an anagram of

Chapman, Ciapman. To this classical onslaught, wherein Jonson certainly outwitted himself, Shakspere replies most felicitously by castigating his implacable enemy as Thersites, in 'Troilus and Cressida.'

About a year previously Marston wrote the 'Malcontent,' wherein he apparently satirises Shakspere as that "huge rascal" Mendoza, and Jonson as Pietro, the usurping Duke of Genoa, whose repentance is evidently an allusion to Duke Frederick in 'As you Like it;' whilst Altofront (Marston), disguised as Malevole, is the banished Duke of Genoa, and his friend Celso is, of course, Decker; there are also two other interesting characters, Ferneze—Fletcher, and Ferrardo—Beaumont, who now makes his first appearance, at least in these contests.

But it would be a grievous error to suppose there is anything personally offensive in these characters; for the ladies are allegorical figures; Aurelia, the wife of Pietro, being the classical muse, and Maria, the wife of Altofront, the romantic muse; whilst the two ladies, Emilia and Beancha, attendant on Aurelia, become in 'Othello,' respectively, one, the wife of Iago, and the other, the mistress of Cassio.

It may then be taken for granted 'Othello' is Shakspere's reply to the 'Malcontent' rather than to 'Ovid.' In this play as in two or three others, and nowhere more distinctly than in 'Romeo and Juliet,' we have two sets of figures, or phantoms, behind the dramatic characters; for behind Othello we clearly see not only Shakspere himself but Ralegh, at that time Governor of the Isle of Jersey; and behind Iago, not only "honest Ben," but a still greater villain, Secretary Cecil; of the other characters, Cassio is Marston; Roderigo—Fletcher; Lodovico—Beaumont; and Montano—Decker; whilst Brabantio is Francis Bacon; and Uncle Gratiano, Anthony Bacon. That Brabantio is Bacon may be suspected from his remarks, "I'll have it disputed on; 'tis probable and palpable to thinking;" whilst "abused her delicate youth with drugs and minerals" would be no less applicable to Ralegh; but in the last scene, when Othello says:

> "I have seen the day,
> That with this *little* arm, and this good sword,"

I presume the word *little* was inserted on account of Burbage, the actor.

The grounds on which I base this opinion with regard to Bacon, are as follow:

*Brabantio:* "Do you know
Where we may *apprehend* her and the Moor?"—Act i. sc. 1.

*Brabantio:*
"I therefore *apprehend* and do *attach* thee."

The words *apprehend* and *attach* satisfy me that Shakspere points at Francis Bacon in Brabantio; and this opinion is confirmed by an article I wrote on 'Romeo and Juliet' under the heading of 'Shakspere, Sidney, and Essex,' in 'Notes and Queries,' February 14, 1863, pp. 124, 125:

"The use of the word *apprehend* appears to have been a habit with Bacon; it occurs repeatedly in his letters, and the following singular instance confirms this suspicion. In his 'Declaration of the Treasons of Essex,' he says: 'Certain it is Sir Ferdinando Gorges accused Blunt to have persuaded him to kill, or at least *apprehend*, Sir Walter Ralegh;' but in Gorges' 'Confession,' we read: 'The said Sir Christopher Blunt persuaded him either to *surprise* Sir Walter Ralegh or to kill him' [*Spedding*, vol. ii. pp. 267, 296]. Gorges in a manuscript, writ to vindicate himself, says: 'If it be demanded of me why I did not then *take* Sir W. Ralegh?' and Oldys writes, 'to murder or *seize* Sir W. Ralegh at this meeting,' p. 331. Hence we infer the expression of Paris, '*I do apprehend thee*,' is characteristic of Bacon."

Now the allegory in this play, 'Othello,' is very simple and evident: Desdemona is the romantic muse, Shakspere's own muse, and to whom, as the daughter of Bacon, may well be applied the words of Hallam, "contemplative philosophy;" and Emilia is the classical muse, and Iago's suspicion of Othello's too close intimacy with her is Jonson's acknowledgment, and jealousy if you like, of Shakspere's classical acquirements; whilst Beancha is of course the loose muse of Marston, who is promoted to be Governor of Cyprus, in reward for his wonderful satire of Shakspere, as that "huge rascal," Mendoza; but which, allegorically, is a huge compliment to his poetical genius and classical acquirements; whilst in Iago, the man himself *minus* the villain, Jonson is recognised as the great classical poet.

Marston was an enthusiastic idolater of Shakspere, and that powerful though sadly coarse tragedy, 'Sophonisba,' is the counterpart to Othello; where Massinissa represents Shakspere; Syphax—Jonson, and Gelosso—Lyly. When I wrote the remarks on 'Sophonisba' in the tract, 'Shakspere and Jonson,' I had not then looked into the plays of Beaumont and Fletcher, or I should not have committed the hasty error of writing, "probably Scipio and Lœlius represent Marston and Decker;" whereas the lines:

> "O, thou eternal youth,
> Man of large fame, great and abounding glory,
> Renounceful Scipio, spread thy two-necked eagles,"

can only apply to Beaumont and Fletcher; whilst Vangue would be Marston, and Jugurth, Massinissa's nephew, Decker.

That Shakspere's feelings responded to Marston's generous homage is proved not only by the intimate connection of 'Sophonisba' with 'Macbeth,' but also with 'Julius Cæsar;' when Brutus says:

> "No, not an oath," act ii., sc. 1.

Shakspere must have had in his recollection

> *Mass.* "No, do not swear,
> I was not born so small to doubt or fear."
> *Sophonisba*, act i. sc. 2.

As the most subtle poisons can only be detected by the most delicate tests, so it is only by a minute microscopical examination we can detect any personal allusions in the plays of Shakspere and Marston, and except in a few instances the same may be said of Jonson; and as far as I can analyse his character, Jonson was naturally a generous-hearted man, but of a jealous and overbearing disposition; and that it was owing to Shakspere's forbearance, there did not occur any personal quarrel between them. Let it be said, however, in justice to Jonson, if the dramatic composition had a stimulating effect on him, so had it a chastening and elevating effect on Shakspere. Rosaline's advice in 'Love's Labour's Lost' sufficed for a time without the twelve months in an hospital; and now at Jonson's frown Falstaff dies of a fright and Pistol stole away.

(Signed) ROBT. CARTWRIGHT, M.D.

This Paper, 'Shakspere, Jonson, and Marston,' was declined

by the committee of the *New* Shakspere Society with the following note from the Director: "May 2nd. Dear Sir, I regret to say that this Paper is of far too sporting a character for us." Happily I had previously felt certain it would be declined on some such plea, as the "suppositions are far too illusory, and consequently not suitable for discussion by the Society."

The Paper was written somewhat hastily, as I had not quite satisfied myself about the political characters shadowed behind the dramatic. Ralegh, Cecil, and Bacon were self-evident to my mind, and I supposed the political allusion was to the last Parliament under Queen Elizabeth, where Ralegh on the constitutional side was opposed to Bacon and Cecil. But who was the Duke? It did not strike me at the time, the play had reference to the trial of Ralegh, but there is the key. The Duke is King James, and the speech is singularly appropriate; for had he not with chivalrous gallantry made a voyage to Norway to fetch his bride home?

*Duke.* "I think this tale would win my daughter too."

Again, Ralegh demanded that Cobham should be confronted with him:

*Othello.* "How came you, Cassio, by that handkerchief?
*Cassio.* I found it in my chamber."

Thus Iago's villany is proved, as Ralegh's innocence would have been proved, had Cobham's presence not been prevented by Cecil. Consequently 'Othello' must have been produced early in the spring of 1604.

At the next meeting of the Society, May 12, instead of Dr. Nicholson's Paper on Shakspere's 'Sonnets,' which was postponed in consequence of indisposition, a short article was read, "On the approximate date of 'Othello' as deduced from Marston's 'Parasitaster' or 'Fawne.'"

After a short discussion the Director courteously asked me my opinion; and I replied, the 'Parasitaster' was a parody on the 'Tempest,' to which was objected, the 'Tempest' was composed in 1610, and the 'Parasitaster' was published in 1606. I replied, I was not guided by the metrical test, but possibly Shakspere may have amended the play in that year; and I further observed, that the characters of Tiberio and Dulcimel were in direct antagonism to Ferdinand and Miranda; whilst

King James is ridiculed as the Duke Gonzago, "an arrant doting ass." It was instantly objected, Marston could not have ventured to write such a satire, having been only a year before imprisoned with Jonson and Chapman, with the pleasant prospect of losing their noses, for having satirised the Scotch in 'Eastward Hoe.' Now here, I think, my interlocutors missed the point, for it is far more probable they were really imprisoned on account of the following joke on his Majesty, than for a satire on the Scots:

> 1*st Gent.* "On the coast of Dogges, sir; y'are i'th Isle of Dogges, I tell you, I see, y'ave bin washt in the Thames here, and I believe ye were drowned in a tavern before, or else you would never have toke boat in such a dawning as this was. Farewel, farewel; we will not know you for shaming of you. *I ken the man weel; he's one of my thirty-pound knights.*"—Act iv. sc. 1.

Here is a direct allusion to the King, which might well call for punishment; but in the 'Parasitaster' there is no such personality; and it is not likely his Majesty recognised himself as Gonzago, neither is it probable his ministers would venture to notice it, thereby confessing they regarded their learned sovereign as "an arrant doting ass."

Jonson, as the retort courteous to Othello, concocted this humorous comedy, wherein Shakspere is satirised as "the idle apprentice" and Ralegh as Sir Petronel Flash.

Shakspere, perhaps somewhat indignant at the ridicule cast on Sir Walter in his misfortunes, replies to 'Eastward Hoe' in that magnificent play, the 'Tempest,' where Antonio represents Jonson; Alonso, Chapman; whilst Sebastian stands for Marston, drawn exactly according to Jonson's account of Carlo Buffone—"a public, scurrilous, and profane jester, that more swift than Circe, with absurd similes, will transform any person into deformity:"

> *Seb:* "He receives comfort like cold porridge."
> "Look, he's winding up the watch of his wit;
> By and by it will strike."
> "As if it had lungs and rotten ones."
> *The Tempest*, act ii. sc. 1.

I may here add, the two *Lords*, Adrian and Francisco, represent Fletcher and Francis Beaumont, who is distinctly recognised in the beautiful lines addressed to Alonso, "Sir, he may live," etc. But so high did he stand in Shakspere's esteem, that he is also shadowed in Ferdinand, son of Alonso; whilst in 'Lear' the

rejection of Cordelia by the dower-seeking Burgundy (Fletcher), and the eager acceptance of her, as "a dowry in herself," by the King of France [Beau-mont], distinctly mark Shakspere's estimation of the two poets.

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## 'EDWARD III.'

"TRULY," says Ulrici, "if this piece, as the English critics assert, is not Shakspere's own, it is a shame for them that they have done nothing to recover from forgetfulness the name of this second Shakspere, this twin-brother of their great poet."—"We look in vain," says Mr. Knight, "for some known writer of the period, whose works exhibit a similar combination of excellences."

A change, however, has come over the English critics since Mr. Knight wrote the above lines; it is now acknowledged the Second Act was written by Shakspere; nor can there be a doubt the First Act was also written by him; since the commencement of Artois' speech on the first page is perfect Shakspere; whilst various phrases crop up here and there, reminding us of him, and at the end of the second scene we read:

*Count.* "Let not thy presence, like the April sun,
Flatter our earth;"

as in the Sonnet 33:

"Full many a glorious morning have I seen
Flatter the mountain-tops with sovereign eye."

In the last three acts, however, the poet probably abstained from putting forth his full powers, being now on the very battle-ground where his future hero, Henry V., was to win his laurels; but he is undisturbed by the ghost of Talbot behind him with the Countess Auvergne, as that was a mere episode; whilst the Countess of Salisbury is an essential part, one might say the pivot on which the whole play turns; for 'Edward III.' is not so much a play as a Dramatic-sonnet, or Sonnet-play, and most probably composed after the 'Lucrece.'

The enigma is sufficiently transparent; after a comparative neglect of the drama, writing sonnets and two long poems, Shakspere now, as a sonnetteer, courts the Countess of Salisbury,

who, as the dramatic muse, indignantly rejects him, at the same time giving him a moral lecture on connubial fidelity; he, repentant, casts away that "lascivious grace," the sonnet-muse, and henceforth devotes himself to the drama, and 'Richard II.' is the immediate result.

As evidence of Shakspere's hand in the three last acts, the following lines may be adduced:

"That, t'other day was almost dead for love?"—Act iii. sc. 3.

A different writer would scarcely have made such a reference to the previous act.

"Ah, what an idiot hast thou made of life."—Act iv. sc. 4.
"*It is a tale told by an idiot.*"—*Macbeth*, act v. sc. 5.
"That now the under-earth is as a grave."—Act iv. sc. 5.
"*Whom this beneath world.*"—*Timon*, act i. sc. 1.
"*This lower world.*"—*Tempest*, act iii. sc. 3.
"My arms shall be thy grave."—Act iv. sc. 7.
"*Now my old arms are young John Talbot's grave.*"
*Henry IV.*, act iv. sc. 7.
"And kings approach the nearest unto God
By giving life and safety unto men."—Act v. sc. 1.
"*And earthly power doth then show likest God's,*
*When mercy seasons justice.*"—*Merchant of Venice*, act iv. sc. 1.

It should be well noted that the lines,

"Ah, what an idiot hast thou made of life,"
"And kings approach the nearest unto God,"

are precursors of two of the finest passages in Shakspere; and I join with German critics, "It is a shame they have not discovered the name of this twin-brother of their great poet," if Shakspere did not write the fifth scene in the fourth act, where one feels the silence, stillness, and gloominess of a coming storm:

"A sudden darkness hath defac'd the sky."
"A tongue-ty'd fear hath made a midnight hour."
"That now the under-earth is as a grave,
Dark, deadly, silent, and uncomfortable."*
[*A clamour of ravens heard.*

It should be borne in mind, Shakspere in this play has not put forth his full powers; being merely a trifle written for some temporary purpose,† whilst the description of the young prince

* "Discomfortable cousin!"—*Richard II.*, act iii. sc. 2.

† As "private theatricals" on the Earl of Southampton coming of age in October, 1594; Lady Rich taking the part of the Countess; Shakspere as Edward the Third; and Southampton, Prince Edward, the hero of the play.

may, in a measure, justify the supposition Shakspere is alluding to his own son, who must then have been in good health, but afterwards having been affected with a low fever was sent into the country; and in the distress of Constance in 'King John' may be represented the mother's anxieties for her son; and I should infer the play preceded the death of Hamnet.

In gratitude to Germany for having given us a genuine Shakspere play, and one of such inestimable value in the elucidation of an interesting period of Shakspere's life, I here present the Fatherland with a genuine German Hamlet, such as our Hamlet might have been, had he not suspected that his father had been poisoned: "My father! methinks I see my father;" the first premonitory symptom of the ghost; it shows also how impressionable was Hamlet's mind:

"Chose bizarre, il était né plutôt pour les arts de la paix, et ne semblait pas avoir le tempérament militaire. Le fonds de Frédéric, comme on l'a très-bien dit, c'était l'homme de lettres. Spectacle surprenant de voir ce *petit homme, replet et presque gras, si mou jusqu'à trente ans,* marcher devant ses troupes aux profondes boues de Westphalie, dans les neiges des monts de Bohême, dans ces batailles affreuses de décembre et janvier, ne connaissant hiver ni été, ni repos. En paix, tout aussi grand.—*Moqueur pour d'autres,* avec les pauvres gens, il était sérieux, les consolait."—Michelet, 'Louis XV.' vol. xvi. p. 398.

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## 'HENRY VIII.'

In the Paper, 'On the Succession of Shakspere's Earliest Plays,' I stated that Shakspere took to the stage, not as a mere playwright, but with the thorough spirit of an artist. This love, this earnest study of his art, he has carried on through life, even into this, his last play, 'Henry VIII.;' where, with exquisite judgment and the true skill of an artist, he adopts in certain passages the flowing and looser lines of Beaumont and Fletcher, the play having reference to the present time, the events occurring almost within the memory of persons still living.

In the first act, the scenes 1 and 2 are evidently by Shakspere;

and at the end of the second scene the mind of the reader is oppressed by the gravity of the surveyor's charge and the wrath of the king. This oppression is most judiciously relieved, not by a comic scene, full of wit and laughter, a discord most incongruous, but by a spectacle, a drawing-room filled with ladies and courtiers in their rich and splendid dresses; and if the conversation be a little less than brilliant, perhaps it may be truer to nature.

In the second act, the first scene is also by Shakspere; the following passage is a concise analysis of Ralegh's trial:

> 1*st Gent.* "I'll tell you in a little. The great duke
> Came to the bar: where, to his accusations,
> He pleaded still, not guilty, and alleg'd
> Many sharp reasons to defeat the law.
> The king's attorney on the contrary,
> Urg'd on the examinations, proofs, confessions
> Of divers witnesses; which the duke desired
> To him brought, *viva voce*, to his face."

We are here reminded of: "Let Cobham be here; let him speak it. Call my accuser *before my face*, and I have done;" whilst "Neither the king nor his heirs" (act i. sc. 2) corresponds to "the king and his cubs." In the character of Buckingham, however, Shakspere seems to have had an eye more especially to Essex: "All good people, pray for me" agrees with the words of Essex to the guards the night before his death: "My good friends, pray for me."

The interview between Henry and Wolsey (in act iii. sc. 2) in the ante-chamber is accepted as Shakspere's; but the remainder of the scene is attributed to Fletcher, although Wolsey remains in the same chamber.

It seems to me incredible, degrading to the character of Shakspere personally, that he could at that stage have handed the pen over either to Beaumont or Fletcher to portray the character of Wolsey, his reflections on the scene with the king, then the interview with the lords, their taunts and insults, and his indignant remark, "How much, methinks, I could despise this man;" followed by the affecting interview with Cromwell; whilst the delineation of the character of Katharine and her death is perhaps unsurpassed by any scene throughout his works; nor can I doubt that Wolsey's "Farewell, a long fare-

well, to all my greatness!" was written by Shakspere; since the emendation I proposed in the 'New Readings in Shakspere:'

"That sweet aspect of princes and their *ruin*,"

is confirmed by a line in the 'Sonnets:'

"For at a *frown* they in their glory die."
*Sonnet* 25.

The immediate origin of the play may have been a sudden impulse on the part of the poet to acknowledge his gratitude and loyalty to those who had so honoured him, "Eliza and our James;" and whilst in the sympathy, excited by the sufferings of Queen Katharine and the repentance of Wolsey, he pleads the cause of humanity against religious persecution, in the birth of Elizabeth would be joyfully hailed the success of the Protestant cause, the point towards which the whole play tends.

In the last scene after delivery of the speech* praising Queen Elizabeth together with the so-called fulsome laudation of James, we have the happy interruption of King Henry: "Thou speakest wonders;" then Cranmer, holding forward the infant in his arms, turns to the audience:

"*She* shall be," etc.

Thus the petty criticisms on this passage fall to the ground, and never was there a truer word:

"Comedies are writ to be spoken, not read."

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* This speech, out of compliment to Beaumont, for whom Shakspere had the highest esteem, shadowing him in the *Tempest* as Miranda's Ferdinand, carrying logs, an emblem of his arduous studies, is founded on a speech by Arbaces:

*Arb.* "You may sit
Under your vines."
"In your hearts
Sing songs of gladness and deliverance."
"The terror of his name has stretch'd itself
Wherever there is sun."
"And live to see your children's children
Sit at your boards with plenty."
*A King and No King*, act ii. sc. 2.

## 'THE TWO NOBLE KINSMEN.'

It has long been held by critical authorities that this play was composed by Shakspere and Fletcher, which opinion was ably supported by the late Mr. Spedding, but afterwards partially retracted, his opinion being "not so decided as it once was;" which doubt, however, has not been fully accepted by later critics.

In 'Shakspere and Jonson,' a small tract published in 1864, and courteously received by the press, I pointed out that the passages attributed to Shakspere were written by Beaumont.

On analysing the plot of the 'Two Noble Kinsmen' we find the first act is a mere excrescence, having no more connection with the main body than a lodge at the park-gates with the hall or castle. It is in fact a classical poem, a gem, a little play of itself, like the 'Four Plays in One.'

The solemn, slow, and stately entry of the three queens, their supplications, the battle, and the dirge! and there's an end of them; no foreshadowing, not a hint of coming events; how unlike to the opening scenes of Othello, Macbeth, etc.! and especially should this first scene be compared with 'Coriolanus' (act. v. sc. 3), on which it seems to be constructed; and how overstrained is the language of the first and second queen, "We are three queens," and "Honour'd Hippolyta," compared with the natural and unaffected language of Volumnia and Virgilia, or of Hermione in the 'Winter's Tale.' The same may be said of Emilia in the third scene; her speech on friendship compared with Helena's in the 'Midsummer Night's Dream' is deficient in softness and simplicity; true, it is written in Shakspere's later style, yet how unlike to the feminine sweetness of Perdita. Again, where does Shakspere introduce two young princes discussing through a whole scene a knotty question of moral philosophy? Surely this scene is a mere impediment; the conversation in the prison would have sufficed, and Emilia in the garden should have been her first appearance.

Whilst the first act is thus confined to its own narrow limits, throwing not a ray of light into the future, the first scene of the second act is in its construction essentially the opening scene of the drama: the gaoler's daughter and her wooer, the

two princes, and Emilia; the whole story lies open before us, and the course of events is a natural sequence.

In the first act, it may be granted, each sentence taken by itself might have been written by Shakspere; and therein the author shows the power of his genius and his wonderful mastery of language; but his inferiority, as a dramatist, becomes evident on looking through Shakspere's later plays; for of all the female characters not one uses such florid and figurative language as these queens, Lady Macbeth scarcely excepted, and one feels she is speaking, whilst these are speechifying.

Similar objections may be applied to the first scene of the last act; and it is hardly credible Shakspere would have had a hand in the third scene, one so contrary, so directly opposed to his art; and wherein the writer has twisted the loving and artless Emilie of Chaucer into a psychological difficulty, a mental analysis, a temptation to cope withal that Beaumont delights in. But he had a meaning, and his meaning is his excuse, Emilia being the classical muse, exhausting her sweets on her two lovers, Shakspere and Jonson.

As Jonson wrote the 'Fox' in his thirty-second year, I see no reason why Beaumont, a more precocious genius, an ardent and devoted student of Shakspere, and the author of the finest passages in 'Philaster' and the 'Maid's Tragedy,' Shaksperian imitations, emulative trials, I see no reason why such a poet may not have written in his thirtieth year the first act of the 'Two Noble Kinsmen;' it only enhances our regret for the loss of a genius so moral and philosophical.

On turning to Chaucer we find the black-haired knight is chief on Palamon's side, but in the play he is on Arcite's; and *vice versâ* the yellow-haired knight is on Palamon's side. These differences are of singular value; for they point to particular individuals; the first would be Sir Walter Ralegh; the second is Robert Carr, Earl of Somerset, who is described as "a yellow-haired laddie of tall stature," and was in his twenty-fifth year in 1614; and it is a curious coincidence, the yellow-haired knight in Chaucer is also in his twenty-fifth year. The play, I believe, was written in 1614; Arcite is Shakspere, and Palamon, Jonson; their characters are very distinctly drawn—the noble

and conciliatory spirit of the one as opposed to the tetchiness and irritable jealousy of the other.

Emilia is the goddess of poetry; Palamon wins her by the death of Arcite;—that is, Shakspere having retired from the service of the Muses, Jonson remains first poet of the age; and thus this beautiful Anglo-Greek drama, perhaps the last production of Beaumont's genius, remains a monument to his own glory and a mausoleum for the manes of Shakspere and Jonson.

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## 'AS YOU LIKE IT.'

ACCORDING to Hallam, "There seems to have been a period of Shakspere's life, when his heart was ill at ease, and ill content with the world or his own conscience. The memory of hours misspent——" "This type [one primary character, the censurer of mankind] *is first seen in the philosophic melancholy of Jaques.*—It assumes a graver cast in the exiled Duke of the same play."

Evidently we must not put our trust in princes, at least not in the chiefs of literature, for Shakspere probably was never in a happier, though moralising mood, than when he wrote this play; and thinking far more of the dales and woods of Warwickshire than of Arden. As the play, or pastoral, was composed in 1600, we readily recognise Essex in the exiled Duke, as well as in the melancholy Jaques; and Cecil would be Duke Frederick. And who does not see Chapman shadowed in Sir Rowland de Bois, and in his three sons, Jonson, Marston, and Shakspere. It is also highly probable, Marston, whose language was so turgid and thrasonical, is pointed at in Charles, the wrestler, and receives a fatal fling for his parody on 'Hamlet' in the Second Part of 'Antonio and Mellida.'

As Jonson is so fond of boasting about his learning and his studious nights, Shakspere, more modest, humorously thrusts on him, as Oliver, the delightful task of describing the literary acquirements and social position of his younger brother, Orlando, in 1600:

*Oli.* "Farewell, good Charles—now will I stir this gamester? I hope I shall see an end of him; for my soul, yet I know not why, hates nothing more than he. Yet he's gentle; never school'd, and yet learned; full of noble device; of all sorts enchantingly beloved; and, indeed, so much in the heart of the world, and especially of my own people, who best know him, that I am all misprised; but it shall not be so long; this wrestler shall clear all; nothing remains, but that I kindle the boy thither, which now I'll go about."—Act i. sc. 1.

Of Shakspere's early life nothing is known beyond his baptism and marriage; but what is remarkable, no writer has hinted at the probability Anne Hathaway, the daughter of a substantial yeoman or farmer, may have had a small dowry; nor is it probable their friends would have consented to the betrothal, unless there had been some visible means of maintenance.

In the 'Footsteps of Shakspere' I have shown the probability Shakspere had been apprenticed to an apothecary; in which case his apprenticeship of five years expiring in 1583, he may have gone to London in September to attend the hospitals and study medicine. He may also at the same time, being acquainted with one or two actors, have turned his attention to the stage and written his first sketch of 'Pericles,' and on returning at Christmas to Stratford been welcomed as the successful author of a play, wherein were fondly shadowed his wife and child; and we may presume they returned with him to London. The following Christmas his wife, being near her confinement, would naturally remain in Stratford till after that interesting event.

From this period, February 1585, we have not a trace of Shakspere's personal history, but from an analysis of 'Hamlet' we are fully justified in the opinion he spent his leisure hours in the study of classical literature, especially of the Greek dramatists. In 1592, however, Greene in his jealousy makes a remark against him, which, happily, has not the offensive signification formerly supposed. A few months afterwards, in obedience to the Queen's command, he writes the 'Merry Wives of Windsor,' where in Anne Page he points at Anne Hathaway, and the circumstances of his own happy marriage; this passage is still more fully developed in the enlarged and amended play. In 'Edward III.' there is also an interesting passage, wherein, I believe, Shakspere is alluding to his own wife and son; this

opinion is confirmed by the lines in the 'Winter's Tale,'* where Mamillius has "a welkin eye," whilst Edward III. says, "His mother's visage, those his eyes are hers." It has also been suggested by François V. Hugo, that Shakspere in 'Hamlet,' act i. sc. 2, is referring to the death of his own father; and it is also probable 'Pericles' was rewritten in 1608, as a tribute to the memory of his mother, who died in that year.

We must now return to 'As you Like it,' where in Orlando and Rosalind it requires no excess of imagination to recognise Shakspere courting his own "sweet Anne;" nor can I imagine or wish for stronger evidence of his uxorial and domestic happiness; whilst in old Adam we have probably a kindly picture of his old father, who died in the following year.

For my part I can conscientiously say, I believe Shakspere led a moral and upright life, and has well described himself in the character of Brutus:

> "His life was gentle; and the elements
> So mix'd in him, that Nature might stand up,
> And say to all the world, *This was a man!*"

Throughout these 'Papers,' as in 'Shakspere and Jonson,' I read Shakspere with my heart, and if with brains, why then they were moistened with blood direct from the heart, like arid soil with the rain and dews from heaven. But our æsthetical friends arrive, unfortunately, at a very different result; thus writes Gervinus: "Had he not once crossed the threshold of crime, how could he so accurately and profoundly have penetrated into its most innermost recesses?" The accusation recoils on himself. How can Gervinus recognise the truthfulness of the account, if he also had not crossed the threshold of crime? The higher poetical genius of Shakspere painted what the other could only feel. Genius realises what our colder temperament only sees darkly, in a faint and glimmering light.

"Before Shakspere zealots," writes an eminent critic, "demand our attention to ingenious theories to establish the immaculateness of Shakspere's life, let them show that his writings never offend. When they have shown that Shakspere's poetry possesses the proud virginity of Milton's poetry, they may then go

* As *Pandosto* was published in 1587, "twenty-three years" gives the date of the *Winter's Tale*, 1610.